∞∞ The most important family member may have a mantle of deer or nutria skins to keep him warm.

C M 175 291 "The men usually go about stark naked without a stitch on, although their skins are so tanned by the rough weather that they seem to be covered by animal hide or leather, particularly the old men, who are numerous, because the inclemencies of weather do not harm them, they having been used to such rigors since childhood. I saw in Santa Fé the head of a Mocobí Indian, who must have been about 40 years old, the skin of which was more than half a finger thick. The women go about entirely covered, from head to toe, in animal skins, and the principal women attire themselves in cloth made from a pliant plant larger than the agave, which in this province is called "chaguar" and grows wild. From it they make a thread similar to that used by cobblers, and then weave their clothes to which the daughters and wives of the more important men add some black and white ornamentation. From this same fibre they also make jars which, [445] cemented over with wax, can hold water pretty well and also the beverages with which they get drunk.

C M "All the women paint their faces, breasts and arms in the same manner as the moorish women of Africa and Spain, and those ● 302 175 of most consequence do this in intricate patterns which remain in [304] the skin permanently, for their mothers from the day they are born start to fix the dyes in their very flesh with the help of the large sharp bones of certain fish. They also use a dark blue dye, although not to such an extent, on their male children. In addition to this the mothers pluck the hair from the heads of their children of both sexes, leaving a completely bald swath three fingers wide running from the forehead to the crown of the head on which the hair never grows again. Thus do the Mocobíes, Tobas, Agoyas, Taymies and Aquilotes go about, both men and women, and the latter are extremely ugly as a consequence although, to their thinking, they are very beautiful. And in order that the women pull their hair out, the Devil is wont to appear to them in the form of an Indian woman who comes out of the nearest forest covered with a net and tells them that those who will not allow themselves to be plucked are not to eat fish, for should they do so, they will die. [577] So that if some C M woman, fearing the pain, resists having her hair pulled, she later [262] allows it so as to be able to eat fish which is their favorite food. Others of these Indian nations do not make these pathlike inroads in

C M 302 175 their hair but rather pull out all the hair on the fore part of their heads, about four fingers in width. And some of the Mataguayes tear out the hair from the center of their heads, forming a sort of crown, which is why they are called "coronados" ["crowned ones"--Translator]; the Mataguayes Churumatas, on the other hand, have the same coiffure as the Tobas and Mocobíes.

C M 175 72 [266] "While the men, at nighttime, occupy themselves with roasting the flesh of their enemies over a fire in order to give them a rational grave in their brutish bellies, the old crones, who are mostly witches and are venerated as priestesses, are usually present and sing all or most of the night of victories over their enemies or doleful songs about the dead. But if they have had bad fortune in war not a word is heard on their return in all the hamlets or villages which had a part in the misfortune, a strict silence being observed as a sign of sadness and all is attributed to sundry omens. They continue in this melancholia for some days until, little by little, they start to forget and begin to come out of their shacks. Then the relatives of the dead begin to incite the others to vengeance; and it is an inviolable law that those relatives are to lead the others, exposing themselves to the greatest dangers; but they are not to return to the place in which they suffered the defeat because, as they imagine, if they fight there they will certainly be overcome once more.

C M 175 [241] [273] "They do not grow crops but live entirely on what they hunt and fish, to which end they wander through the forests and along the rivers. On returning home the common thing is to get drunk with wine which they make from wild honey or from the pods of the algarrobo. Their drunkenness lasts until they run out of provisions at which time they sally forth once more. If they should have a free moment they devote it to making weapons for war. Some of them, such as the Mocobíes and Aguilotes eat, in addition to what they hunt and fish, roasted or boiled locusts. In all other things the men of every one of these Indian nations make the women work for them, and this is quite hard for they (the women) must cut firewood and take it home on their shoulders even if they are also suckling a child. They must also fetch water from the river. In all things the men are hard on their women, to the extent that when on the road the husband will ride a horse while the wife and young child [578] must go afoot. Nor is the mother more tender towards her child for as soon as it can use its legs she makes it walk so that she may carry the dog, who keeps them company, in her

415 "The best pieces of equipment of which they can boast are
923 some small vessels of "palo santo" [lignum vital—a kind of wood--Translator] and a few small clay pots with very narrow mouths and two little handles which serve them as water flasks on their frequent raiding forays."

"Men and women alike shave their heads completely. They
●302 use, for that purpose, the sharp jaw of a certain fish, and their own teeth serve them to pare their nails. They cover themselves as best
291 they are able from their waists to their knees. The men, on gala
286 occasions, often wear a sort of sleeveless jacket and hang a kind of
415 bag from one shoulder in which they keep a crude wooden pipe, fire
[276] making equipment and other nicknacks. Both the bag and the coat are knitted, made from agave or chaguar fiber, and curiously marked.
302 They pull out their beards, eyelashes and eyebrows, and either to improve their looks or in order to appear more terrible in battle, they blacken their faces and chests with coal dust."

"Their favorite food is fish, and lacking this, all kinds of wild
262 fruits or roots other than the poisonous ones. Their principal vegetable food, on which they can count for a quarter of each year and which they store to some small extent, is the fruit of the algarrobo, chañar and mistol. They also eat, and that without repugnance, lizards, locusts, crickets [593], mice, and even eggs after they have been abandoned, together with other filth. They eat fish and any other kind of meat
[252] or roots, roasted or boiled, and know of no other way of preparing food.
[261] They can withstand hunger admirably, and when they are unable to get other food they spend their time lying about chewing some herb or leaf from the forest."

"From the algarroba [pod which grows on the algarrobo tree--
273 Translator] they make a beverage which is extremely delicious to their
579 taste and which intoxicates them and makes them very fierce. Their drunken parties almost always end in a fierce fight which would have dire results were it not that the women, who never drink of that liquor, are careful to hide the arrows and all other offensive weapons and to hold back and separate those engaged in fighting."

"When the algarroba starts to turn yellow, they place in a cen-
533 tral place among the huts, the pimpin, which is a log, concave at its
222 upper end, covered with a piece of hide. A drummer with a belt about

342 stick them into the earth in a sloppy circle, tie the ends together with any old thing, place a little straw on top and there they have a house with the appearance of an upturned funnel. And in there do
342 these privileged beings live, with more peace and tranquility than
513 kings in their sumptuous palaces; there do they build their fires and eat; there do the men and women sleep, with their parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren, and always in the company of a few dogs, on the bare ground or on a piece of reed matting, or on the skin of some wild pig they have killed, or cow they have stolen, all together in a jumble—this one with his head on his neighbor's chest, that one with his legs on some other's chest and the dogs on top of anyone who strikes them as comfortable. In this way their miserable
361 hovels soon swarm with insects and then they set fire to them and build others somewhere else—so they are forever moving into [602] new houses because those they construct are only makeshift. Furthermore they tend not to live in the same hut for long because of their habits of spending seasons now in one place now in another, according to the weather and time of year as for example: during the season of good fishing they spend weeks and months shifting continually from one section of the river to another, from the river to some stream, from the stream to some lake; in the fruit season they do the same thing."

"And so, as they are little inclined to bathing and always go
515 about dirty, and sleep piled up on each other together with their dogs,
164 they are almost always full of mange, a disease which even kills many infants. Many of them, if it should fall that they take a bath, take pleasure, while still wet, in rolling about on the river sand or in the ashes which are in their huts, as do certain animals which seem to require filth. On certain days and in certain seasons they blacken
302 their chests and faces with charcoal in order to appear more handsome or to show that they are celebrating some occasion."

"All of them cut their hair with a knife or with the teeth of fish, this for lack of scissors, which implement would have only a
[304] limited utility among them anyway. They also customarily pierce their ears, in order to insert a piece of stick or something as a fine ornament. The men pluck out with their nails the few hairs which grow on their faces, and some also pull out their eyelashes and eyebrows."

"Both men and women dress very simply, that is, they tie to
291 their waists a piece of any old thing, such as a piece of hide or cloth

142 that they habitually eat fish and fruit and very little meat, with some [262] exceptions. The teeth in the young are good and whole, but in older persons they are either lacking or are worn down [175] and ugly. The enamel on their teeth is not, in my opinion, like ours, its whiteness is the whiteness of bone, and not of ivory, and I am almost at the point of believing that it is less resistant. Their gums and lips are of a faded pink color. Can this be caused by their diet? They do not eat [263] salt because they do not have it, but they like it very much and relish it as though it were sugar when they are given some. Their lips are thick, somewhat protruding and turned outwards. Almost all of them have slightly slanted eyes, the lower apex inclined towards the nose in the shape of an almond -- there are some, though, who have round, horizontal eyes, which are inky black, the whites looking as though someone had put a little blueing into them; while the whites of the slanted eyes have seemed to me often to have a bilious greenish shade to them, especially among the aged.

Their noses are long, straight and flattened, the nostrils also flattened and extraordinarily wide, but not snubbed. This business of [262] snubnoses is one of their great worries, so much so that they will not eat mutton because they assert that doing so would make their noses take the shape of sheep noses. This is a trick of their medical quacks and [756] witch doctors who, in order to prevent the destruction of their flocks and with them the loss of the little wool which they weave and is useful to them, have invented this pious deception so similar to others which are familiar to us. So it is that all of us all over the world and in all periods are alike in matters of artfulness and pride.

Their hair is straight and coarse, but in a very few individuals I have noted slightly wavy hair, almost kinky, though I know not whether it be so naturally or artificially. I have also noticed, in some, incipient baldness. The hair of adult individuals is jet black, [165] and white among the aged, but this is not often encountered, I suppose because only rarely do they achieve any age to speak of. Among children up to ten or twelve years old the hair is often reddish which is a strange phenomenon and calls to mind Salles' theory that primitive man must have had red hair. We may have here an example of 302 [765] atavism. They wear their hair long and unkempt, but cut it short for a whole year when in mourning. This does not mean that they do not

take pains to comb themselves, particularly the women. I remember an occasion when I wished very much to obtain a paddle, made of "palo-fierro" [iron-wood--Translator] and having two blades, the blades ending in long, narrow points. It belonged to an Indian friend of mine who had quite a beautiful wife. I offered him a comb in exchange for the double paddle, but after having considered the matter for a while he refused to make the exchange. His wife seemed to me to be very sorry that the deal had not come off, and she must have made use of all her wiles for on the following day her husband spontaneously came [176] and proposed that we make the exchange. It may be that the reader would have thought better of my being a little more generous, but let it be remembered that if I had given my comb away I would not then have been able to obtain the paddle, which was of more interest to me than the Adamic Indian couple.

What I have said of the Matacos can also be said of the Tobas, with this addition, that the Tobas are taller than the former Indians and generally show a larger expanse of forehead -- I do not know if they are actually broader -- owing to their habit of tying their hair up with a band. This information is true also of the Mocovíes and Chulupíes, all of whom inhabit the Argentine Gran Chaco, to the north of which, in the Bolivian Chaco, live the Chiriguanos and Cirionoses.

Among all these Indians the skin color varies between that of new copper and mud, there being also, here and there, some with blackish markings or blemishes.

Chapter III

Some Ethnic Characteristics

It is customary to say that these Indians are extremely dirty, but I have some very serious doubts in that regard, for I have seen them, in the summer time, run into the river for pleasure's sake at certain fixed hours of the day in great numbers, both men and women, each sex in its own determined place. This would appear to be a custom and not a mere whim. In addition to this they often go into the water to fish. It is true that they seem to be dirty, mostly because of their

On seeing this couple, almost in a state of stark nakedness, seated on a bench among the cylinders and pistons of the engine, motionless for hours, we were necessarily reminded of the earthly paradise.

When among strangers the women are quiet and impassive, but when left to themselves they are full of fun and as playful as children. And this is generally the Indians' character.

The women take up a somewhat strange posture with their hands when they are standing. As they have no pockets to put them in, or fan with which to occupy them, or what have you, they place them upon their breasts which serve as supports for their arms which together rest upon them.

It would seem that such a habit would enlarge the breasts, but this is not so. The breasts are broad, it is true, but short and erect while the women are young. After expertoe virum, and having given suck to one or more children, the breasts shrivel and retract in a very unaesthetic manner, to tell the truth. It is to be noted that both men and women age early there, and also die early, and to this must be attributed the fact that there are few gray hairs even when there are faces and bodies so wrinkled as to make one believe that their owners must be as old as Methuselah.

I have gone into some detail in this matter of the breasts because it is known that in other regions, according to what is said, the women, when they give suck, give the nipple over the shoulder to the child which they are carrying on their backs. The fact is that no such thing occurs here.

The women, along with the men, have abundant, coarse, straight hair. They wear it rather long but not as long as they might, for it is shortened by wearing it in an unkempt fashion (which serves them as protection for eyes and forehead against the sun) and also by cutting.

They cut their hair, that on their faces as well as that on their scalps, with the jaw of a fish called palometa, which is armed with extraordinarily sharp teeth placed in two rows. The upper teeth dovetail exactly with the lower.

The palometa, the raya (ray--Translator) and the yacaré (alligator--Translator) are the scourge of those who bathe in this river and the lakes or pools which are fed by it. The palometa snaps, tears

In places such as these in which women lose their attractions at an early age and in which men are decimated by the constant wars, the custom of polygamy is a social necessity for the tribe which would otherwise run out of members, and a physical necessity for the men and for many women who would otherwise stay single. Nevertheless there are not lacking loose women, free in their favors, for whom the Indians use the name of amoeccue. M 595 M 837

The man is jealous and cruel to his wife if he suspects her of infidelity. While we were visiting the camp of Peilό we had the opportunity of hearing a husband, deep within one of the huts, beat and threaten his wife with death because she had been careless and fallen into the hands of a soldier. Nu-a-ilon-lã (I shall kill you) he ground out between his teeth. On another occasion a woman, after her husband had been absent for two years, took up with another man; the husband returned, lay in wait, ran after and caught his wife and slit her belly open with a knife before the whites could prevent it. This woman did not die and as soon as she was well returned to live with her would-be murderer.

When the Indians intend to get married they dye their cheeks and the region around the eyes red. The man will give his love a present at the time he makes his proposal and if the woman gives [184] an affirmative answer the man gives her a dowry of whatever he has, such as sheep, chickens, skins, etc. M 584 [302]

If the families approve of the union the couple goes to live near one of them, should they not approve then the pair leave the hut and often even leave the camp. Once consent is granted, the nuptial ceremony is the act of consummation.

Among the Chiriguanos, when a man wants to ask for a girl's hand he places a bundle of firewood and a small deer or other provision at her door; if on the following morning the woman lights the fire and prepares a meal with the food supplied, the proposal is considered accepted and the suitor repairs to the table. Some people hold that this is also a Mataco custom, but the facts which I have been able to glean about the matter do not confirm this. C 584

The Chiriguano chiefs, however, have a privilege, which is that they cannot be rejected by the women of their choice: this is a great stroke of luck for them. The chief reveals his inclination with the offering of a piece of meat or some other thing; the girl cooks it, and they then share both meal and bed. The chiefs, especially the C 584 622

although they retain their position of ministers of "foreign affairs," 701
representing the tribe before outsiders either to treat some matter,
or to form an alliance for either war or peace. And even then
their leadership is not of much value for the members of the tribe,
the populace, are free to refuse to go to war -- although actually
their pride only rarely allows them to hold back.

When a chief plans an attack he gets the advice of the old 721
men of the tribe and of other influential persons, and if these do
not set their approval upon his plan he nevertheless invites those
who will to follow him.

Sometimes, though, large scale invasions are planned by
the allied chiefs of several villages. When we arrived at the vil-
lage of Chaguaral, we found there a group of eleven or thirteen
chiefs, all Matacos, who were awaiting the arrival of [194] their
allies with whom, shortly thereafter, they invaded the territory
of other Matacos who three months earlier had given them a good
drubbing.

While they are on their way to wage war they vociferate 726
wildly, shouting both threateningly and happily. They dye part
of their faces and bodies black and sometimes muss up their al- [302] ●
ready unkempt hair until they look like "lost souls," in the opinion
of a Christian Indian. On the eve of battle, those who have the
wherewithal deck their hair, waist and ankles with feathers, pre-
ferring red or yellow ones, and tie any rag they may have with
them tightly about their midriffs. When combat begins they
break out with the most bloodcurdling yells.

This business of putting on warpaint is common to almost 000
all savages: it was the custom also among those whom the Romans
called barbarians; for example, according to Claudius the
Sigambrians used to dye their hair a brilliant red before going into
battle.

The chiefs have the place of honour in the thickest of the 726
battle, which always results in the death of some of them. If the 622
invaders win, they sack everything, capture the women, the 727
children and cattle, parcel out the booty and set fire to the vil-
lage.

They give no quarter to the warriors and only rarely do they 727
spare the lives of the older women because they distrust them as

stemmed from the desire which the whites have of keeping the Indians from settling and taking possession (a fact recognized by Argentine law) of the excellent land which the local whites look upon as legitimate prey for the future.

They do not indulge in commercial enterprises; and how could they possibly do so when they have no agriculture or industries, being only wanderers and nomads? However, they do practice barter on a small scale, which is their only form of primitive, embryonic commerce. They do not have words for "buying and selling," and in order to express this idea it would seem that they had gone to some of school of economics to learn the exchange formula do ut des; for, strangely enough the Matacos, for example, instead of saying "sell me" say atquiocq niquiocq, which means "give me I give you."

One can gather from this that they have no form of money; but they have invented a word to signify our coins, which is tdócq-kynat among the Matacos and which means hide or skin of metal. Kynat is a generic word which covers all metals which do not exist or circulate in the Chaco. It would appear from this that it is a word invented prior to the appearance of paper money.

Nevertheless there is a sort of medium of exchange, though in only an incipient stage, among the inhabitants of the Chaco. It is a substance which the Indians use to paint themselves with and which is highly valued by them even in the smallest amounts. In Santa Cruz de la Sierra the plant which produces it is called urucú. This paint is obtained by boiling the fruit of the urucú for twenty-four hours, when the coloring matter floats to the top and is collected and made into small pellets of varying sizes. The dye is exuded from the skin of the fruit, which is about the size of an orange. The fruit with a blackist skin produces a black dye, the one with yellow skin gives an orange or red dye and the fruit having a white skin produces a green dye. The skin on the yellow and white varieties is about as thick as the outer covering on a walnut. Each one of the three grows on a different kind of urucú, all of which are plants which grow to be about as tall as a man, with fruit about the size of a pomegranate which split open of their own accord when they are ripe.

Although this substance is produced and made in Bolivia, it is current among all the Chaco Indians and is used by them to

dye themselves red when they are courting, black when they wish 302
to appear dreadful, and green when celebrating some festivity. These colors come off very easily.

While on the subject of personal adornment, I must say that 304
these Indians, to a greater or lesser degree, are in the habit of 824
tattooing themselves. I have seen this carried to great lengths among some Toba warriors, and especially among the women. It looks something like the scars left by smallpox and is set out in geometric designs. They do it by puncturing the skin with a [216] large thorn coated with a caustic substance which looks like milk and which leaves an indelible mark and remains under the epidermis. This substance is to be found mainly in Bolivia in the region of Santa Cruz, and is called in Guarani iguoqui. The same name is given to the plant from which it comes which is a vine which produces bunches of white flowers and elongated fruit which break open and expel a sort of dust. In order to obtain iguoqui they cut the bunches before they ripen, and from the stalk there exudes the milky sap used for tattooing. While the operation is in process they keep the portion of stalk submerged in water so that its milky contents will not well out and be lost. A Chiriguano Indian saw one of these vines twenty leagues downstream from the frontier with the whites on the Bermejo River in the place called La Luna Nueva.

A custom very similar in nature to tattooing in its object 302
is the plucking of hair which is a universal activity among the inhabitants of the Chaco and possibly among all the Indians of the New World.

The object of this is to appear better looking, but it is possible that the real cause has something to do with hygiene and comfort.

Maybe they want to set themselves off in this way from the other animals, which are covered with hair.

Meanwhile, either because they are naturally so or because [142]
of a gradual natural selection based on their depilatory habit, the fact is that the Indians are almost completely lacking in hair both on the body and face, and the little which does grow they pull out, with very few exceptions.

In spite of their language's being so complete I have been 533
unable to discover canticles or any similar musical effort. All

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK 6

In subtropical land like the Chaco, where the weather is often very hot especially during the »summer-time», dress is naturally of the most simple kind. Both among the Mataco, the Choroti, and the Tobas, the most important article of the man's clothing is a small cotton waist-cloth which serves as a covering and protection for the genitals. In addition to this waist-cloth the Mataco and the Choroti formerly wore a kind of broad fringed leather-belt round the loins, whereas the Tobas covered the genitals with a small apron of skin or stuff. The rest of the body is among all the tribes generally kept entirely naked or is only covered by the usual necklaces and other ornaments, or by red *urucú*-painting. When the weather is cold, and on festival occasions, the men also wear big woollen blankets with interwoven linear patterns mostly in red colour. The blankets of the Lenguas and other tribes in eastern Chaco often show designs denoting venomous snakes etc., but such patterns are unknown to the Choroti, and where they are found they have originally been obtained from the interior of the country. Weaving is among all Chaco tribes exclusively a work incumbent on the women.

The Choroti man adjusts his blanket in different ways. In cold or wet weather it is wrapped round the body so as to cover one or both shoulders; when it is hot, he allows it to fall in a double fold from his waist, where it is either fastened by a belt or by tucking the folds of one corner into the other.

The usual clothing of the women is a short cotton petticoat reaching from the waist to a little below the knees, the upper part of the body remaining unclothed. This petticoat formerly consisted of deer or nutria skins sewn together, but since the present-day Choroti are poor hunters such skin loin-clothes are now rarely seen. According to Mr. Hunt, young Choroti girls have nowadays adopted the female dress of the Chiriguano (Avas), a kind of sleeveless, waistless gown caught at the shoulders with a couple of safety pins and known under the name of *tipoy*. At the time when I travelled in the Chaco these *tipoys* were only known to the women among the Bolivian Tobas, but not to the Choroti women, who always kept the upper part of their body uncovered and, in opposition to the Toba women, never showed any shame at displaying their bare breasts. A few necklaces, beads, or twisted feathers replace clothing on these nude parts of the body. Many of the personal ornaments of both men and women have the character of amulets or charms and will therefore be dealt with later on in connection with the religion of the natives.

Much the same may be said of the dress of the Mataco and the Tobas. Both of these tribes, and especially the Mataco, have been influenced

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 S17 Mataco S17

Choroti SK6

process and the other procreative functions of the woman is realized. The attainment of puberty therefore for the Indian girl certainly means the beginning of her sexual life, but at the same time it means her entrance into a very critical epoch of development, during which she is often — especially at child-birth and during the following menses — exposed to supernatural dangers. Hence the initiation ceremonies at puberty have for their object partly her direct protection against these dangers for the time being, partly her purification once for all from the evils associated with her sexual functions during the years to come or — to express it more plainly — to *harden* her against evil spirits. From this point of view we have to regard all puberty ceremonies of the Indians, even such practices as painting, scarification, and tattooing of the body or face, often undertaken with girls on the attainment of puberty.

In the dances and conjurations performed in honour of girls at puberty it is the women who, contrary to what is generally the rule in religious ceremonies, play the most prominent part. Among the *Choroti* the puberty of girls is celebrated with a magical dance called *Káusima* after the instrument which the women use for it; the instrument is called *káhuis*. The *káhuis* is a dancing-staff, two or three meters in length, made of a light kind of wood or bamboo, which has a bunch of deer's hoofs tied at the top. These rattles produce a hollow sound when the staff is struck on the ground and are supposed to possess a mysterious power to influence the spirits. This power of course must be explained from the fact that to the Choroti the deer is a demoniacal animal. The *káhuis* staff is the only magical instrument used by the Choroti women and it is never handled by the men.

The dance begins at the first new moon after the appearance of the signs of puberty, because the moon is believed to cause and have great influence upon the menstruation of women. It is performed every day until the following new moon, sometimes even still longer. At a *Káusima* dance which I witnessed the arrangement was as follows. The mother of the girl and some other elderly women formed a circle, or rather an elliptic ring, outside the hut where the girl was, each holding her rattling dancing-staff. Close to the ring four medicine-men were sitting at equal distances from one another, holding their rattle gourds (*pelīte*). There were besides two more medicine-men standing up, each provided with a drum. During the dance the women moved round ceremoniously with slow, regular steps, chanting loudly and marking time with their rattle staffs which they struck on the ground. The men outside the ring also chanted, shaking

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

C 783 827 [224] resorted to before going out on a hunting expedition. If the arms fails or trembles in pulling the bow, its weakness is, according to the idea of the Choroti, due to the presence of a *mohsek* in the blood; and they think that the evil demon will leave the body with the blood drawn. The same custom is practised by other tribes of the Pilcomayo. Thus C 171 Nordenskiöld noticed it among the Ashluslay, although he did not understand its real meaning. After a trying fishing or hunting expedition, he says, the Indians may be seen to pierce their arms and legs furiously with hard wooden splinters, so that the blood flows in streams; and in order to get a keener sight to find the nests of the bees they likewise prick themselves above the eyes. In both cases the idea evidently is that the demon which causes the weakness or fatigue will be driven away from the body and perhaps killed with the pointed instrument.

M 304 783 The scars left by the cuts are tended with care and shown with satisfaction, indeed with pride. The Indians showed with apparent satisfaction even those cicatrices which the *palometa* fishes had inflicted on their body with their sharp teeth when they were bathing in the river. It is clear that according to the idea of the Indians not only the bleeding purges the body from impure matter and strengthens the limbs, but that the very scars which remain after the operation possess some mysterious power to keep off evil influences, a power which is much the same as that ascribed to real tattooing marks. This Indian view is especially conspicuous in regard to an operation which the whites sometimes perform upon Indians who have come in contact with European civilization, M 751 783 304 namely, vaccination. I could myself appreciate the extraordinary importance ascribed to scars when during my stay at Esperanza I vaccinated a number of Chaco Indians who were employed as labourers at the sugar factory. The Christians probably have no remedy which the natives understand so well as this one, and they therefore as a rule submitted to the vaccine inoculation without remonstration, in fact, with pleasure. The small indelible marks which remained were regarded with wonder and admiration, and it was perfectly understood that they were a sort of warranty that the terrible disease would not attack the person wearing them.

M 302 789 Of all personal ornaments *body-painting* is the most important. All Chaco tribes practise it, and men and women alike. In the Chaco, as in other parts of South America, body-painting is essentially a custom of magical significance, as one can easily find out by considering the circumstances under which it is practised. The favourite colour of the

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12

The favourit colour of the
Indians is red or vermilion, the paint being obtained from the seeds of the plant *Bixa orellana*. But this beautiful shrub does not grow in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco tribes only obtain the paint they appreciate so much from the Indians in the north by means of intertribal commerce.

The Chaco Indians are also in the habit of blackening the face with soot or charcoal on certain occasions.

The typical way of painting the face both for men and women is either to colour the whole face and forehead red with *urucú*, or black with charcoal, or only to apply red or black spots, lines, small squares etc. to the cheeks, to the nose, round the mouth and above the eyes. The eye, which is the organ of the most important sense and the one most exposed to disorders, is generally painted with special care. Sometimes the whole organ is circumscribed by a red line, sometimes red and black lines are only drawn along the upper part of it on the spot normally occupied by the eyebrows, which, being regarded as dangerous, are always carefully pulled out; sometimes protecting tattoo-marks are applied instead of paint, especially by the women. Among the *Tobas*, persons of both sexes generally have the face and forehead painted red. But besides this typical facial painting the Toba women — seldom the men — are in the habit of making special patterns or ornaments upon their cheeks on certain occasions. The patterns used by the Tobas seem to be comparatively few in number; we do not find among them the same abundance of designs as for instance among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Custom does not require that any special kind of pattern should be applied on a particular occasion. Every woman, for instance for a religious dance or feast, paints upon her face what designs she likes and invents at the moment.

If one asks a Toba girl why she paints her face, she will in most cases simply give the answer that it is considered beautiful, sometimes she will say that it is to please and attract the men. When I asked other people about the matter I was told that the Toba girls paint themselves when they particularly desired a man. Yet it was perfectly clear that this cannot have been the only motive for thus decorating the face, for facial painting was not practised only by unmarried girls but also by young married women, who ought not to have had any reason to put on such an outward sign for the men. As a matter of fact, on closer inquiry I found that the Toba women are in the habit of painting themselves *at the time of their menses*, in order to have a protective charm against the evil influences of which they especially then stand in fear. The ideas

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913) 1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

the body of some animal. The magical nature of these ornaments was likewise obvious.

Among the *Mataco*, who in general are more addicted to religion and superstition than the Choroti, the character of facial painting as a magical charm is more conspicuous. These Indians give facial painting different names according as it is used by men or women and depending on its colour. Thus the red painting of women is called *eruhâh*, whereas the red painting of the men is called *ovöittâh* (a name evidently derived from the word *aittâh* demon). The black painting is called *letâh*. It is especially used as a sign of sorrow. When a Mataco man dies, his widow and daughters blacken their faces with charcoal, regarding this as a protection against the death-demon. Similarly, for some time after a death the younger men every evening perform the dance *Katindh*, and all those taking part in the dance have their faces blackened. — The red painting again is applied as a means of giving the body strength and as a direct protection against evil spirits causing sickness.

Many *personal ornaments* of the Chaco Indians, for instance ear-tubes, necklaces, feather ornaments etc., are of the nature of charms or amulets against evil spirits. The feather ornaments most customary among the Chaco tribes are ostrich plumes, and these, as I have shown in my *Civilization of the South American Indians* have originally not been decorations in the civilized sense of the word, but magical charms, a character which they still preserve for instance among such tribes as the Chamacoco and Lenguas in Paraguay. Among the Choroti, who likewise at their great feasts in December and January wear great ostrich plumes as ornaments, this is not equally conspicuous in accordance with the fact that in many cases the Choroti culture shows traces of an incipient degeneration. On the other hand, in the description I have given before of a Mataco dance performed to conjure disease demons and in which the sorcerers had ostrich feathers fastened to the ankles, wrists, head, and waist,[1]) the »mystic» significance of these »ornaments» is quite obvious. Similarly, when another writer states that the Mataco in some parts of the Argentine Chaco not only use ostrich plumes as head-ornaments, but also apply them to the face as a sort of beard, which gives them a grotesque and ferocious appearance, or wear them round the wrists in the way of bracelets.[2]) one cannot fail to recognize superstitious motives behind these arrangements.

[1]) See *supra*, p. 137.

[2]) Baldrich. *Los comarcas virgenes*, p. 231.

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The *ear-tubes* which are worn as ornaments for instance by the Choroti, Ashluslay and Toba-Pilagá and which consist of wooden plugs or pieces of cane, sometimes of tremendous size, are likewise nothing but magical charms or amulets. This was clearly indicated by the Choroti, who told me that the ear-discs are worn to prevent the evil spirits, the *möhsek*, from penetrating into the ears. Their hugeness and peculiarity is evidently thought to act as a deterrent upon the spirits, and there seems to be the idea that the larger they are the more efficacious.

The Indians of the Pilcomayo use various kinds of *necklaces*, and it seems to be the rule that among the most primitive tribes, such as the Choroti and Ashluslay, they are more worn by men than by women, among the more civilized Tobas again more by women than by men. Speaking of the dress of the Choroti, I mentioned the large and costly kind of necklace consisting of snail's shells elaborately fashioned into small round buttons with a hole drilled in the centre and closely strung together. The necklace, called *lähslehuésle* in the Choroti language, is not only an ornament but at the same time a magical charm. The Choroti no doubt gave me the true explanation of their original significance when they told me that the necklace is a protection against sickness. The evil spirits, according to the idea of these Indians, preferably attach themselves to the throat or the chest, because catarrhs are very common in the Chaco during the dry season. The spirits are believed to enter into the body through the throat or the breast, but this is prevented by the protecting necklace. Hence, when a Choroti Indian sells his necklace or leaves off wearing it, his comrades say that he will most certainly soon fall ill. The same idea I found prevailing among the Mataco-Nocténes of Bolivia, where such ornaments are worn by both sexes. Thus the son of a chief, who was just at the age of puberty, one day appeared painted red in the face with *urucú*, and with a large necklace which covered the neck and the breast. When I asked the father why his son had put on these things, he answered: »It is in order that he may not fall ill«. Both among the Mataco and the Choroti it is customary that children of both sexes go totally naked up to the age of eight to ten years, but nearly always they wear collars and facial paintings which most certainly are not »ornaments« in the civilized sense of the word.

Among the South American Indians in general it is a common custom to tie round a limb, for instance the wrist or the leg, a leather strap or some other kind of band, professedly with a view to making the arm or the leg strong. The Chaco Indians also commonly wear such ligatures

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C 765 forming a falling scale in a minor key, which makes a very peculiar impression. At the time of mourning the women and children commence this wailing at fairly regular intervals and all at once, as if it were agreed upon. To one who lives for some time in a Choroti village it is evident C 765 that wailing forms part of Indian etiquette. Not only must the mourners, when they arrive from another village, which has been abandoned on 876 account of a death, be received by a choir of weeping women and children; any guest who arrives in a village shortly after a death has taken place there is received in the same way. When in March 1912 I visited the Choroti in the interior of their land, where no European had yet penetrated, I noticed with astonishment that on my arrival at a village I was received with loud wailing by the women and children. I soon learnt that a great chief had died some time ago; but the fact that the wailing was renewed to receive me remained unexplained. I was told, however, that this peculiar way of receiving strangers was prescribed by Choroti custom. The most probable explanation seems to me that it is feared lest the spirit of the defunct should revisit his people in a strange disguise, and that the wailing has for its object to propitiate him or to frighten him away. Such ideas prevail among other South American tribes also, both in the Chaco and elsewhere.

M C T 765 ● 302 562 There are certain other customs observed in connection with mourning, but they are as a rule limited to the women. Among all Pilcomayo tribes it is customary that when a man dies, his widow, daughters, and sisters cut their hair short with the sharp teeth of the *palometa* fish and burn it. Ceremonial wailing always attends the cutting of the hair. When I asked the Choroti why a widow cuts and destroys her hair after the death of her husband, I was told that the dead husband, who wants his wife to follow him to the grave, is believed to attack her through the hair. In order to rid herself of this danger she shaves it off. Exactly T 765 the same belief prevails among the Tobas: the dead husband or father will seize his surviving wife or daughter by the hair and cause her to fall ill and die. Among the Tobas a widow cuts her hair twice, first immediately after the husband's death, the second time some months later T when the hair has again grown long. At the same time she repeats the [602] wailing. Similarly the nearest female relatives have to diet, in so far as they are not allowed to eat fish for many months. If they infringe the rules of diet in regard to fish they may sicken and die. After a Toba woman has cut her hair the second time she may again eat fish, her mourning is over and she is allowed to marry again. Even some of the

pronounced the same incantation, blew on the dresses which were unfolded and taken away. On the heap of dresses had been placed a gun wrapped in a red belt richly inlaid with shells. One of the dancers seized the gun and slinging it over his shoulder executed a dance bearing a certain likeness to the one he had done before. The dancers were relatives of the sick man, probably his sons.

b) *Treatment of Disease*

A rich woman who was seriously ill was cured by five renowned medicine men. A big open space of about fifteen feet square was cleared not far from her house. Wooden posts were erected and a sort of tent set up. One of the posts, about 20 feet high, was decorated with two large pieces of cloth and an old Argentine flag. Around the tent were placed the objects required by the disease, those which are supposed to please him, a mosquito net, a weaving loom, an old suitcase, pieces of gaudily colored cloth, a saddle, a soldier's coat, a lamp, a lance or a gun. A little further away fires were burning where the disease's food was being prepared and a pail of water was being heated for the dancers. The sick woman was seated in the middle of the tent on a pile of hay and old rags. She had put on her best dress and was covered with ritual ornaments. The five shamans, who were old men, were equally adorned with feather belts, rattles, tropical helmets and other precious objects. The lower part of their faces was painted black.

There were also some twenty dancers wearing feathers, red belts adorned with shells, rattles, caps, red pieces of cloth, whistles and old broken watches, while perhaps ten old women ran about holding rags in their hands and one even held an umbrella. Everybody, including the sick person, danced and sang, at times the medicine-men and the sick woman stopped, they blew on her and the dancing was resumed. After a while the chief medicine-man whistled on

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

stood in the entrance he did not prevent the disease from escaping but he did expose himself to contracting it. 755 535

At a signal from the chief medicine-men, the dancing was interrupted. Two men seized a white and red striped poncho by its extremities and began to dance, making side jumps legs parted. They went to the sick person and put the poncho on her, then they ran with it to the exit and shook it there. They repeated this several times, then they wrapped the woman from head to foot with the poncho and a medicine-man started rubbing her through the cloth, while everybody sang without dancing. After a while the twisted poncho was removed, taken to the exit and thrown away. Then the dance began again. An assistant sprinkled water on the ground and the chief medicine-man stopped the dance once more. He set down near the sick woman, covering himself entirely with a large black blanket and started speaking to the disease. In the meantime, the man who was moistening the ground brought a pail of water and with the assistance of one of the medicine-men he washed the face, head and body of the patient, then she was placed with her feet toward the exit. During the course of the dance, the assistant moistened the shoulders of the male dancers, while an old man painted the women's faces, making two red dots on their cheeks and a stripe along the nose. During this dance a medicine-man blew on the sick woman and another covered her face with a piece of red cloth. After a while the woman lay down and the dance went on, the paricipants assuming threatening expressions, then suddenly all looked very satisfied. The ceremony was interrupted, then after an hour's time it was resumed. [302]

On the following day another woman was taken sick — but not such a rich one — and another treatment of a more modest character was undertaken. In front of the woman's house a tent was stretched and she was placed in the tent. The offerings consisted only of some pieces of cloth and a few bags. When I arrived the chief medicine-man was speak- 755

wore a red knitted shirt of wool decorated with shells. Many wore on their foreheads frontlets trimmed with feathers. Another ceremonial accessory worn by most of them consisted of a bunch ostrich or *potsax* feathers. Two especially famous medicine-men had their faces painted black and red and on the hat of one of them were ostrich feathers. Naturally among the performers were a number of women, some of whom had their cheeks painted red. In front of the performer's row some spears had been stuck into the ground with the points downward. A spear with the point upward was also stuck in the ground at the same distance away as the others. During the ceremony a bunch of ostrich feathers was fixed to the spear with the head pointed up. When I arrived I noticed in front of the row a young man who was not a magician. He was grinding into a calabash the *hatax* seeds from which the medicine-men later took pinches.

The ceremony consisted of a song without words, identical to that sung by the medicine-men when curing diseases. The singing was punctuated by the rattling of the gourds and from time to time by the clacking of hoof and rattle necklaces and the whistling of the flutes. Each blowing of the whistle indicated a new phase in the traditional sequence of events associated with the ceremony (new metamorphosis of the spirit of the medicine-man, its arrival or departure from a given place). The rattle-gourd is sometimes brandished in a theatening manner as though to scare away an invisible being. In turn, without interrupting the ceremony, some of the performers took a snuff of *hatax* powder. Those who had bunches of feathers stretched them forward making the same gesture which has already been described when speaking of the rattles. One of the performers was running in front and behind his colleagues, holding a bunch of feathers in his hand and dusting them off from head to foot. He was assisted by another who was holding bells and rattles which he shook behind his companions. After they had taken a snuff of *hatax* the performers went on singing, shak-

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

relatives of the patient) and three dancers. All wore rattles. 755

The medicine-men sang and blew on the patient, who shook the bells, while the dancers and the assistants stamped in one place and let their rattles jingle. The dancers then started to run from left to right and thus made a complete circle. For the second turn, when they arrived at the height of the sticks, they reversed and ran around in the opposite direction, then reversed again and so on. While the assistants were stamping their feet, singing and shaking their rattles, the medicine-men went on singing and blowing. The patient had not moved during the dance. After they had run around ten times, the dancers went to rest, smoke and talk with the assistants, but the medicine-men still blew and shook their rattles. The patient was still motionless. After a quarter of an hour the dance was resumed, this time to the accompaniment of the patient's bells and rattles which all present were shaking. All seemed to be rather happy. The ceremony was then over and they sat down to smoke. The sticks were removed and the ornaments taken off, first those of the medicine-men, then the assistants and dancers, and finally those of the patient. The patient returned quietly to his hut. 755 535

XV. Sexual Life

Before marriage nothing prevents young people from having a free sexual life. The girls paint their faces red if they have had sexual intercourse the preceding night. 836 302

In love affairs before marriage it is always the women who take the initiative. 836

If a man has sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman his loins and head will ache. As for the woman, she is in no danger. 833 841

You must not sleep with a woman whose child has not yet cut any teeth for the woman will lose her mind and as the child cannot eat alone he will die. 834 828

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

that all movement is impossible except to stamp, the spiral begins to unfold itself, first very slowly, then more and more quickly. The dancers are sometimes many. The circle divides into two files which develop simultaneously on both sides of the enclosure.

5. The young men form a file from the center of the dance enclosure to the outer border. Each dancer puts his hand on the shoulder of one neighbor and his other hand on the hip of his other neighbor. The file starts slowly to move; the man in the center whirls himself in a circle and the others follow the movement. The movement is faster toward the outer ends of the file and is accompanied by songs. Sometimes the singing stops but the movement goes on, then the singing starts again.

From time to time the dance is interrupted by a young man following a girl. After they have been running through the dancing place of the village they ordinarily sleep together and on the following day appear with their faces painted red.

According to my informant the dancing songs have no meaning, being mere rhythmic utterances.

XIX. Mourning Rites

A man is buried in the bush in a grave about six feet deep immediately after dying. The dead are buried reclining on their right sides with their faces toward their fields. If they were placed in any other position they could not find the way to their houses and they would become lost. No food is given to the dead except a calabash half filled with water. The soul drinks this water to quench his thirst during his journey to the underworld. All the personal belongings of the deceased are burned and their souls come out to join the soul of their owner. His animals are not killed, but when they die their souls join that of their master.

Immediately after death all grown up members of the deceased, even very remote relatives, begin to weep, ac-

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

764 companying themselves on rattles and drums. These laments last for about one hour after death, then begin again when the corpse is carried away to be buried and finally when they come back from the burial. But on the following day only very near relatives parents, grandparents, aunts or uncles, go on weeping. Those who were already mourning for someone else weep louder than the others because they mourn for two.

765 The laments take place at sunrise and at sunset as well as in the middle of the afternoon. During the first days of mourning the near relatives of the deceased go to his home to mourn. There they run and dance, going continually [535] from one place to another and shaking their rattles with both hands. They accompany the dance with lamentations. With the exception of the wife of the deceased, women always mourn in this way, shaking rattles, dancing and lamentations. Mourning women must not appear bareheaded or with a naked face for they ought not to be seen. People [533] sing and play on rattles during the mourning period in order that the dead person may readily be forgotten. The laments which last two or three hours every day are supposed to help the living forget the dead. After six months, more or less, they weep only at dawn and even then very rarely. [302] The relatives of the dead person must cut off their hair in order not to displease the dead who would attack their heads and make them bald. The wife, at the death of her husband, observes mourning for two years. She shuts herself up in a special little hut often adjoining the hut of her married son, or daughter if she has no son.

768 The house of the deceased is pulled down and a new one built about 10 yards away. If this were not done the dead man would come back within fourteen days after death, attracted by memories of his previous life. The materials of the old house are used in the construction of the new one.

A widow may leave her home to satisfy her wants only at night. If she goes out during the day the dead man gets

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

angry. No one is allowed to call on her and only very young boys may go into her house. She speaks only when it is necessary to get things she needs.

A medicine-woman of the village of Las Lomitas, whose husband died a year before, left her retreat in order to cure a sick child belonging to her family. After every treatment she went back to her hut. The child recovered in five days and she resumed her mourning. At no time did she speak with other members of her family.

In the morning and afternoon a widow plays a drum and weeps. Thus she tries to forget her husband but some time later she will think of him again and then go back to her drum. During this period she cuts her hair three times and eats her food with a fork and spoon.

If a woman looses her husband shortly after marriage, he may call on her frequently but if she marries another man before two years have elapsed the spirit of her late husband kills her new husband. After two years the dead man has forgotten his wife and marries a female spirit. When a widow dies her spirit goes to her husband and they live together as they did on earth. Upon the death of a husband the children are bound to support their mother unless she marries again after the two years of mourning.

XX. Miscellanea

a) *Dreams*

Dreams are of exceptional importance to the Matako who believe that everything which happens in dreams will come to pass in real life. The dream is the life of the soul which after death becomes a spirit. During sleep the soul is released to wander about in the world where it sees what will happen in material life. Ordinary men as well as medicine-men can identify images seen in dreams. Thus the Matako Indians expect to realize in life the accomplishment

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 SI7 Mataco SI7

584 make their appearance, and having studied the chosen cavalier join him in the
836 dance, holding him by the shoulder or around his body (Fig. 2). Either during or
[535] immediately after the dance the girl draws away her elected partner, taking him as a rule to the house of her parents.

302 The introduction to a pre-marital sexual relation can naturally take place in
832 some other manner. It often happens that a young man desiring a sweetheart paints a particular pattern on his face, a large red oval or circle containing small white spots on both cheeks. Everybody then knows that he is seeking a girl, and he is called *kyutithli*. The day after, perhaps even the same day, a girl will be seen painted with the same pattern. She is called *samuklanik*, because by her painting she indicates that she accepts him. This method also shows that it is the girl who
836 makes the choice. He makes himself available both at the nightly dance and by painting himself, and she is free to accept him or to refrain from so doing. I was
[558] assured many times that a young man so selected has no chance of excusing him-
[548] self; he would lose face if he attempted to do so, and would call down upon him-
[182] self the anger of the girl's family. A young man who is not chosen by a girl despite his wish can in the meantime console himself with one of the village prostitutes, who appear to have precisely this function, as extra-marital infidelity with a prostitute is regarded as valid unfaithfulness.

301 It has already been mentioned that young men and women seeking love can
832 often be recognized by the painting of their faces and by a general urge to adorn themselves. Also restricted to this period are a special broad armlet made of black and white beads, and—particularly for the girls—an ordinary white string of beads from which depend red woollen cords with bead tassels that hang down the
832 neck (Fig. 1). Young men who seek or have just found a sweetheart, traditionally
[533] evince great musicality, and are practically the only ones who play the Jew's harp
[534] and a primitive musical bow. The music gives expression to longing and un-
[304] requited love. Young couples have a special form of caress, pressing the cheek of their partners with the points of their nails. This leaves behind small wounds visible for a week or more, and is proof of great infatuation.

836 When a girl has found a sweetheart no secret is made of the fact; at all events all the young people in the village will be aware of the various short-lived unions that have begun. But when she brings her lover home at night to her parents' house they nevertheless evince a form of discretion. The parents pretend to be asleep whilst the young ones creep in; but the father, as though by chance, may cause the fire to blaze up so that he can see whom the girl has chosen. He then lies
583 down to rest. It is often said of a young couple who in this way commence inti-
836 mate relations that "they have begun to be married". This means that they have commenced a kind of trial marriage the result of which is far from certain. The
[581] girl has primarily chosen her sweetheart on the basis of an undefined mixture of
[582] sexual attraction and other propensities, whereas the girl's parents wish to limit the choice to those economically acceptable. Early the next morning the new

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 SI7 Mataco SI7

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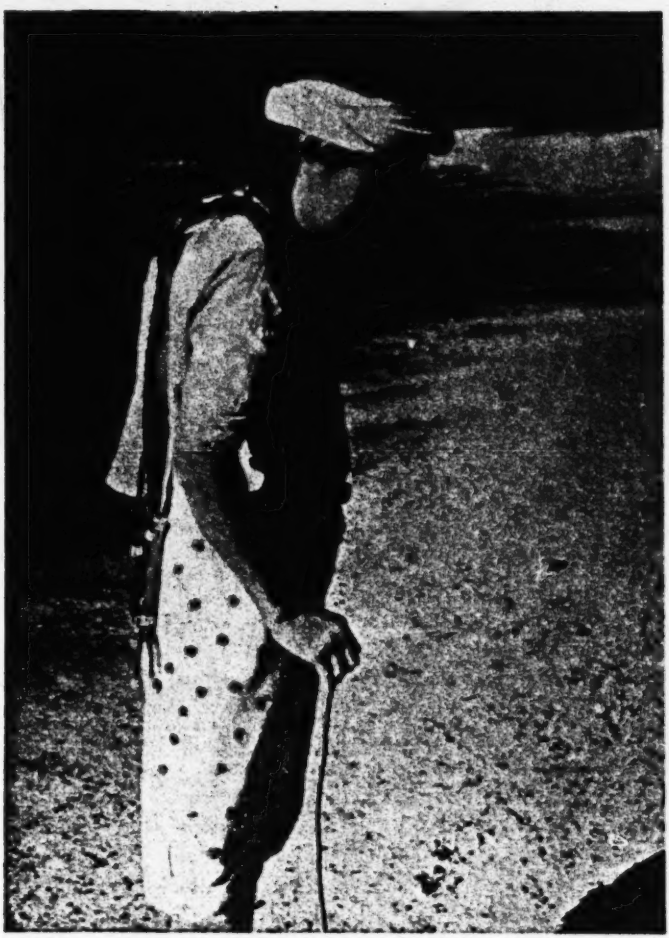

Fig. 1.—Ready and eager for love this Mataco girl carries the red woollen string with bead-tassels on her back. Phot. Fock.

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son-in-law will be awakened by the girl's father and be given orders to go out and fish or hunt. Should he be unfortunate and return empty-handed, he can count on being sent home to his parents the same afternoon, and the connexion is broken. If, on the other hand, the young man has any luck he is allowed to continue with the girl for the time being. A day or so later he will take her out with him to search for food. He will, for example hunt and look for honey, and she will collect *caraguatá* leaves. They go a long way, and she tries to fill the *yica*,

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[415]

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 SI7 Mataco SI7

837 within a marriage, distinction is made between the unfaithfulness of a man and of a woman, the latter's being considered the more serious offence. If a man commits adultery it is often said that a young girl has intervened. In that case the wife—when she realizes what is going on—with some of her female relatives, attacks the girl. For this reason, in earlier days particularly, girls never cut their [302] nails in order that they could draw blood from any rival. It is noteworthy that whereas the wife obtains the help of her female relations, the same is not so in [602] the case of the intervening girl. Her family maintains "that it is not worth fighting about", but in view of the absolute solidarity that is customary within families, it must mean that her conduct is regarded as positively wrong, by her own kin, that is to say, socially.

In the event that a man should have fled with the intervener, the wife and her female relatives pursue them and attempt by force to drag back the man. As a rule they are successfull in this, because the other men will not concern themselves about it, considering it a purely feminine affair. When a man is unfaithful 684 and is regarded as the active party, he also risks being beaten to his senses by his wife and her female relatives. On one occasion I saw a young man beaten black and blue and thrown out of his house. He had had relations in the forest with a girl, and had been seen by another woman who told his wife of it. When the man returned home and had lain down to sleep he was beaten almost unconscious by his wife, her sister, and a third woman in order to teach him to behave better. No one in the village wished to intervene. A man who persists in infidelity will be [586] reproached, even by his own relations, and his wife has the right to leave him without incurring censure.

As a rule a woman's unfaithfulness will have more far-reaching results than that of a man. In the first place the husband does not trouble to consider whether the wife is the seducer or the seduced, but always gives her the blame. Her fate depends upon the temperament of her husband. If he discovers her, he can beat her in order that her behaviour shall be improved, and in that event he seldom does anything to his rival. As a rule, however, he will at once divorce her and [586] chase her away. Her family will make no protest, and will at most vilify her for having behaved badly. It is said that the reason why a man wants to be divorced at once is because he thinks that she will be unfaithful to him again and again, so that at last he will lose his head and attempt to kill her and her lover. There are 628 numerous examples of this: the wife will perhaps fly with her lover to another 682 village, but the husband will follow them, concealing himself until the evening dance begins. He will then steal into the chain of dancers and wait for a good opportunity—a pause in the dance—when he can kill first his rival and then his wife whilst they are together. He flees back to his family under cover of darkness, but will seldom be pursued because the village will wait until the morning to find the killer's tracks and thus identify him. Every Mataco knows the footprints [822] of all his village fellows, and often many more. A member of the dead man's

6:Métraux E-5 (no date) 1943 SI7 Mataco SI7

been told about a Toba or a Pilaga who killed himself. Apparently, suicide is a culture trait restricted to the Matako.

Can this pathological condition be attributed to the life in the mission and to the discipline imposed upon the natives who have shown willingness to become Christians? The psychological motivation for conversion is undoubtedly fear of the white men and hunger. The missions are a buffer between the Indians and the ruthless white colonists. In the missions the Indians find jobs and, in case of distress, food. They also receive free medical treatment. The price they must pay for these privileges is to give up dancing and drinking, to abandon warfare and native sports and to forget shamanism. In addition they are expected to go to church twice daily and the children and many adults spend part of the day in school. Life under such conditions is extremely dull. All the activities that made life worth while disappear unless they can secretly play hockey or indulge in a drinking bout. This, of course, they quite frequently do. Although their present situation can explain their indifference, their anxieties and their lack of attachment to life, can the mission discipline be held responsible for the Metako suicidal mania?

In six of the cases cited above, marital maladjustment was blamed for the suicide attempt. In one case, the suicide was attributed to lack of sexual gratification. One couple attempted suicide because of the insults showered upon them by an angry and frustrated woman. One case may be ascribed both to sexual maladjustment and fear (the case of Martin). Criticism by neighbors is the cause in one instance. In only one case that of the old woman who had lost her son, can grief be considered the determining reason for the suicide.

In addition, there is no doubt that suicide among these people has a decidedly aggressive character. The Matako use suicide as a threat; by killing themselves, they punish the person who has offended them. The punitive character of suicide leads to the problem of aggression and aggressiveness among these people. In daily life little direct aggression is shown in their mutual relations. There are almost no quarrels; ordinarily men are not harsh to the women. Children are coddled and are seldom scolded. Nevertheless, strong aggresive tendencies exist. Whoever has witnessed a hockey party on the Pilcomayo loses any illusion he may have had about the gentleness and softness of Matako manners. In its brutality and fierceness each hockey party resembles a pitched battle. The Indians paint themselves and dress as if they were getting ready to face a real enemy. The teams are formed by men who are related by blood or who live in the same community. The adversaries are frequently members of bands which are on unfriendly

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755 [114] In the course of the mission to the Argentinian Chaco of which I was in charge during 1932-1933, I had the opportunity of being present at a certain number of ceremonies for the expulsion of illnesses, or evil spirits.

[753] [774] The Matako /Mataco/ Indians do not seem to be acquainted with any other medicine than magical medicine; that is normal since the illness takes the image of the sick person and not his body.

Among the ceremonies described below, a distinction can be made between those from which the whole village benefits and those from which only a single sick person benefits.

Ceremony for the Expulsion of Illnesses for All the Village

(April 8, 1933).

755 756 783 796 [534] [242] [237] [302] This ceremony took place in the morning in the open air rather far from the houses, and was carried out by all the medicine men /the English term is used/ of the village. They were arranged in a row facing east, and all had a maraca and a bone whistle in their hands. Some of them were carrying bands of rattles, either in the hand, slung over the shoulder, or hooked over the elbows. Some officiants were dressed in red wool ceremonial shirts spangled with rings of shells, and others in war shirts made of caraguata thread. Almost all were wearing red headbands decorated with feathers or hats adorned with ostrich feathers, and most had a bunch of ostrich feathers in the hand. The faces of the principal medicine men were daubed with red and black, and those of the women with red. Facing the row of officiants were planted several arrows, points down, and a lance with the point up. In the course of the ceremony a bunch of ostrich feathers was attached to the top of the lance. When I arrived at the spot, I noticed a young /212/ man crushing ha'tax seeds in a gourd which the medicine men would take later.

/214 cont./

755 a storm lamp, a lance, and a gun. A little farther away fires
554 were prepared for cooking foods destined for the illness and a bucket of water for the dancers. The sick woman was seated in the middle of the tent on a bale of hay and some old cloths, dressed in her best clothes and covered with ritual ornaments.
[292] The five medicine men were also adorned; they were wearing
[301] feather belts, rattles, colonial helmets, /215/ and other precious
[302] objects; the entire lower part of their faces was daubed with black. There were also about 20 dancers, dressed up in
755 feathers, red belts decorated with shells, rattles, caps, red
554 cloths, whistles, and old broken watches; about 10 old women
535 were running around with pieces of cloth in their hands, and one of them with an umbrella. Everyone, including the sick woman, danced and sang; sometimes the medicine men and the sick woman stopped, and the medicine men blew on her; then the dance was resumed. After some time the chief medicine man blew on his bone flute and the dance stopped outright. The sick woman danced by herself, slowly lifting one foot, then the other, three or four centimeters above the ground, and staying in one place; during this time, two medicine men were shaking their rattles, a man was tapping in his hands, laughing, and another was shaking two flat, tin bottles — in which powder is sold in the interior of Argentina — filled with seeds; this lasted about ten minutes, and then the medicine
755 men joined in the dance, but only for a short time. After a
554 stop two of them approached the sick woman and began to take off her things; during this time a medicine man was shaking his rattles along the woman's body, beginning with the head. Slowly all the ornaments were taken off, the assistants tapped the ground on the spot where they had fallen, then, running, they went to throw them outside; having gathered them together they shook them several times, and then carefully arranged them. The sick woman was seated in the middle of the tent and given something to drink. The ceremony was interrupted and then continued.

/216 cont./

[755] [538] they approached the sick woman and passed the poncho over her head; next they ran to the exit and shook it. They repeated this maneuver several times, then completely enveloped the woman in the poncho, and a medicine man began to rub her through the cloth. Everyone was singing but some were not dancing. After some time the poncho was taken off, carried at a running pace to the exit, and thrown outside. The dance was resumed; an assistant threw some water on the ground, and the chief medicine man then stopped the dance again. He sat next to the sick woman, covering himself completely with a large black blanket, and began to speak with the illness; during this time the man who was watering the ground carried up a bucket of water and, with the help of a medicine man, washed the face, head, and body of the sick woman, who was turned with her feet toward the passage made in the crossbars, and a path was traced with water from her feet to the passage. The chief medicine man got up and the dance was resumed with renewed ardor. During this dance the assistant moistened the shoulders [302] of the male dancers, while an old man painted the faces of the women red, giving them two circles on the cheek bones and a streak along the nose. At the same time one medicine man blew on the sick woman and another covered her face with a red cloth. At the end of a certain time the sick woman lay down, the dance continued, taking on a threatening character, and then suddenly the people appeared satisfied, having undoubtedly obtained a momentary success. The ceremony stopped and was resumed after an hour.

Note

[164] [132] According to the medicine men with whom I had a chance to talk about these two sick women, they were suffering from "sickness in the chest," /217/ easily explicable by a sharp atmospheric drop of almost 25° in 24 hours.

/319 cont./

433 They do not work, plant, or do anything similar; they
222 are but mediocre fishermen and barely hunters. To live they
241 lay up great stocks of chañar, algarrobas, and mistol fruits, and with some gourd seeds placed under the earth they have extraordinary harvests if the year is moderately rainy.

786 They organize their orgies when the algarrobas, chañar,
578 and mistol are in season, and then the quarrels and murders occur
682 among the men; these crimes go unpunished by the authorities, for there are none. But if the one who has perished had relatives they will take revenge.

342 /320/ They do not bother to build houses or such things.
513 They make a kind of oven; for it they bend some branches of small trees, fix them to the ground, cover these branches with straw or grass, and they sleep underneath in a pile in the company of their dogs.

164 This is the reason for the excessive mange which kills
515 them and makes them look so disgusting, since they are not at all partisans of the daily bath, as the Chiriguano are, and when they do bathe, they roll about in the river sand or in the ashes of their oven-houses.

584 They do not seek the consent of their parents for marriage
585 nor do they have ceremonies. Do two young persons, a man and a woman, love each other? They leave the common settlement, go to the woods, stay a few weeks, and then return, now married, to live with their in-laws or to make another oven like the one of their elders.

586 Young people divorce each other easily, but they are
152 more constant than the Chiriguano in married life. Nonetheless,
837 the women are very jealous and do not readily consent to their
593 husbands' being with other women; for this reason they keep them content with the work of bringing them much fruit from the forest and caressing them.

302 Men and women cut their hair; some of them stain their
301 faces and pierce their ear lobs, in which they put a piece of wood, like the Toba, but this is not a distinctive mark of the race.